

# COGNATE ACCUSATIVES: LOST IN TRANSLATION

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## Abstract

This paper addresses the translation of cognate accusatives from Arabic into English by B.A senior students majoring in English language and its literature at the University of Jordan. The students translated (39) sentences containing the cognate accusative in a questionnaire prepared by the researcher for this purpose. The questionnaire included 3 different types of cognate accusatives: emphatic, type-identifying, and number identifying, as well as representatives of cognate accusatives and constructions that may be interpreted as having implicit cognate accusatives. Because of their semantic meaning and their complete absence in English, cognate accusatives were seen as redundant elements and thus were either non-existent in the students' translations or were translated as intensifier adverbs. The paper, further, sheds some light on the syntax and semantics of the cognate accusatives and tries to account for the students' different translations of these constructions. Moreover, the paper attempts to grasp some of the unconscious knowledge of native speakers through their preferences for translations of an Arabic structure that is totally absent in the target language (English).

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**Keywords:** Cognate accusatives, translation, Arabic, syntax, semantics, redundancy

## 1.Introduction

Arabic is a rhythmic language that is built around certain patterns and meters. This kind of morphology has great bearings on syntax. Farghaly and Shaalan (2009) points out that Arabic has a complex word structure. It is an agglutinative language which constructs complex words by adding affixes and clitics that represent different parts of speech. For example, a verb may embed within

itself its subject and object as well as other clitics signifying tense, gender, person, number, and voice:

1. ʔu-hibbu-ha

IMPF:1S-love-3SF

‘I love her’

Arabic grammarians modeled the formation of nouns and verbs and their derivatives based on the concept of the root. This root usually is a set of three consonants (f ʕ l) expressing the idea of the action ‘to act’ (Montague, 1988). The root is a mental representation that does not exist; however, to best represent it, Arabic often uses the third person masculine in the past tense of a verb. Kamp and Reyle (1993) state that Arabic nouns and verbs are derived from roots by applying templates that generate stems, and then introduce prefixes and suffixes. (Hoseini 2011) pinpoints that an Arabic verb designates voice (active or passive), tense (past, present, imperative), gender (feminine, masculine) and number (singular, dual, plural). The derivation of the verbs in the different tenses is achieved using well-behaved morphological rules. The stem is formed by substituting the characters of the root into certain verb forms, called measures/ patterns. The researcher, further, mentions that there are 37 measures for the trilateral and quadrilateral verbs (p.175).

In terms of syntax, Arabic allows both SVO and VSO as unmarked word orders<sup>132</sup>. The language is highly inflectional. Perhaps this is the reason why Arabic has free word order. So, even when the object precedes the subject, the reader can easily identify the subject and the object.

Furthermore, Arabic has a set of syntactic objects that are peculiar to this language. Syntactically, all of these objects appear in the accusative case. Semantically, they either emphasize the meaning of the event (2.a), express the reason for its occurrence (2.b), the place of the event (2.c) and the time of the event (2.d), or the accompaniment of the event (2.e):

2. a. intaSar-a

**intiSar-an**<sup>133</sup>

l-dʒayf-u

<sup>132</sup> Arabic also allows SOV, VOS, OVS, OSV but these are marked structures used mainly for *focus* reasons.

<sup>133</sup> The phonetic transliteration followed in this paper is as follows: D: voiced alveolar velarized stop, T: voiceless alveolar velarized stop, x: voiceless velar fricative, ʔ: glottal stop, ʕ: voiceless pharyngeal approximant, S: voiceless alveolar-pharyngeal fricative, h: voiceless pharyngeal fricative, dʒ: voiced post-alveolar affricate.

achieve victory:PRF:3SM-SUBJ the-army-NOM victory-  
ACC<sup>134</sup>

hasim-an

decisive-ACC

'The army has achieved a decisive victory'

b. ʔaqra-u kaθir-an **hubb-an** fi-l-ʕlm  
read:IMPF:1S much-ACC love-ACC in-the-knowledge

'I read a lot because I love to gain knowledge'

c. ʔuhibb-u d-dirasa-t-a **fi-l-**  
**maktaba-h**

love:IMPF:1S the-studying-F-ACC in-the-library-F

'I love to study in the library'

d. ʔuhibb-u d-dirasa-t-a **layl-an**  
love:IMPF:1S the-studying--F-ACC night-ACC

'I love to study at night'

e. dʒalas-t-u wa-l-maktaba-h  
sit:PRF-1S-IND and-the-library-F

'I sat beside the library'

This paper will study the first type of objects; the cognate accusative (henceforth CA), which mainly emphasizes the occurrence and meaning of the event. It can also indicate the kind and number of the occurrences of the event. The study will try to investigate the syntax and semantics of this structure and find the subjects' strategies of translating it into English which totally lacks such a class category.

This paper proceeds as follows: section 2 tackles the verbal noun, its definition, rank and naming, the relationship between the verbal noun and CA, divisions of CA, and CA representatives. Methodology is presented in section 3. Section 4 presents results and analysis. Section 5 concludes.

## 2. The verbal Noun

### 2.1 Definition of the Verbal Noun and CA:

The CA takes the form of the verbal nouns (al-maʕdar). Ibn Malik<sup>135</sup> (1990, p.178), a traditional Arab grammarian, defined the verbal noun as "a noun that originally refers to an event associated

<sup>134</sup>SUBJ=subjunctive, IND= indicative, GUSS- gussive, NOM= nominative, ACC= accusative, GEN= gentive, GER= gerund.

<sup>135</sup> Traditional Arab grammarians (e.g. Sibawaih, Al-Farahidi, Ibn Malik, Ibn Hisham, ...) lived between the 12<sup>th</sup> -14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Here, the date of the revision of their books next to their names will be used. However, in the reference list, the name of the researchers who revised their work will be mentioned as well.

with an agent or experiencer whether it represents a real meaning or a metaphorical one. The verbal noun can also indicate eventuality acting upon a theme". Examples of real events associated with an agent or experiencer are the words *xijaTa* 'sewing' and *fahm* 'understanding' respectively. By contrast, referring *mawt* 'death' to *majjet* 'a dead person' represents a metaphorical meaning.

The definitions of the CA were both similar to and different from the verbal noun. IbnAquil (1995) defines the CA as the accusative verbal noun that is intended to emphasize the meaning of the verb (3a) or to clarify its type (3b) or number (3c):

3. a. wa kallama Allah-u Musa **takleema**  
and talk:PRF:3SM Allah-NOM Moses talking-  
ACC  
'and the Lord talked to Moses a real talk'<sup>136</sup>
- b. sir-t-u **sajr-a** Zaid  
walk:3SM-1S-IND walking-ACC Zaid  
'I walked exactly like Zaid's walking'
- c. Darab-t-u-hu **Darbat-ayn**  
hit:PRF-1S-IND-3SM:ACC hitting:DUAL:ACC  
'I hit him two hits'

IbnHisham (1962, p.312) explains that in (3a), the CA was used to avoid illusion; The Lord talked to Moses directly without an intermediate. Therefore, the CA is like the verbal emphasis where one might repeat the same word to emphasize the occurrence of the event. Al Ashmoni (1955, p.311) defines the CA in a way that is close to IbnAquil's. However, Al Ashmoni didn't include the accusative aspect: "the CA is not a predicate; it is derived from a verb and functions to emphasize the eventuality or clarify its type or number.... It can *only* be a verbal noun".

By the same token, Abd Al-Mouain (2004) points out that the CA is an accusative gerund that comes after a verb to confirm the action, or to show its kind or number. Al-Tarifi (2003) defines it as "the original noun of the verb... it is related to the verb in form and in sense". Al-Zamakhshari (1993) state that the CA can only be a verbal noun since it is replaced by the verb which represents its eventuality. Nonetheless, the verbal noun remains the origin. Finally, IbnHisham (1962) defines the CA as "the adjunct verbal noun which is bound by a binder which has the same root or same sense" (p.312).

## 2.2 The Rank and Naming of the CA

<sup>136</sup> The Holy Quran, *Al-Nisaa*:164.



noun can be aCA such as the Quranic verse in (3a). At the same time, the verbal noun can be some syntactic constituent other than the CA and that is true if the verbal noun doesn't represent an emphasis, type or number. Examples include:

5. a. **al-qatl-u**                      afnaʕ-u                      l-dʒaraʔim  
       the-killing-NOM                ugliest-NOM                the-crimes  
       'Killing is the ugliest crime'
- b. **al-fitnat-u**                      afadd-u                mina                *l-qatl-i*  
       sedition-NOM                worse -NOM            than                the-  
       killing-GEN.'  
       'Sedition is worse than killing.'                      (Al-Hujaili, 2005)

In other words, the verbal noun is more inclusive than the CA because the former can be aCA, a subject or some other syntactic element. However, the CA can only be a verbal noun because its denotation is represented by the verb and substituted by it. The verbal noun remains the origin (Al-Ashmoni 1955, p. 311).

## 2.4 Divisions of Cognate Accusatives

Depending on its function, Arab linguists have classified the CA into three categories:

**First:** Emphatic CA: the CA is used here to emphasize the verbal noun. So, when one says *qumtu* he/she means *ʔaHdaʔtuqijaman* 'I made a rise', and thus *qum-t-u qijam-an* equates to *aHdaʔtuqijamanqijaman* 'I rose rising/ I made rising a real rising'.

**Second:** Type-identifying CA: here, the CA is used to identify the manner in three different ways:

1. The CA is modified by adjectives as in (6a)
2. A genitive is added to the CA as in (6b)
3. The definite article *ʔal ʔttaʕreef* (the) is added to the CA to refer either to a specific action that is recognizable for both of the speaker and the addressee as in (6c), or used generically to denote intensification as in (6d):

6. a. **sir-t-u**                                      **sair-an**                **Hasan-an**  
       walk:PRF-1S-IND                      walking-ACC            good-ACC  
       'I walked gracefully'
- b. **sir-t-u**                                      **sajra**                **ʕaliyy-in**  
       walk:PRF-1S-IND                      walking-ACC            Ali-GEN  
       'I walked the way/distance that Ali walks'
- c. **sir-t-u**                                      **s-sair-a**  
       walk:PRF-1S-IND                      the-walking-ACC  
       'I walked the usual walking'
- d. **dʒalas-t-u**                                      l-dʒulu:s-a

sit:PRF-1S-IND the-sitting-ACC

'I sat for too long'

**Third:** number-identifying CA: in this case, the CA indicates the number of times the eventuality took place:

7. Darab-t-u Darbat-an / Darbat-ayn / Darab-at-in  
sit:PRF-1S-IND hitting-ACC/ hitting-DUAL:ACC / hitting:PL-F-ACC

'I hit one hitting/ two hitting/ several hittings'

All the examples mentioned above involve a verb binding a CA. However, as Zuhdi and Abu Zaid (2010, p.199-200) pinpoint, the CA, or verbal noun in general, can be bound by a) a root/ a verbal noun, b) a verb, c) an agentive noun *ism l-fa3il* d) a theme noun *ism l-maf3ul* and e) a quasi-adjective *Sifamushabbaha*. For brevity reasons, (c) only will be exemplified.

7. a. ʔas-sa:ʃi ʔil l-xayr-i saʃy-an daʔu:b-an  
the-seeker to the-good-GEN seeking-ACC persistent-ACC  
ka-fa:ʃil-ih  
like-doer-his

'The person who strongly seeks doing good deeds is the same as the doer himself'

## 2.5 Cognate Accusatives Representative:

In some cases, the type-identifying CA is replaced by some other material. Some of these cases that will be used in the questionnaire are mentioned here. A CA may be replaced by:

A-The verbal noun's **synonym** as in:

7. qaʃad-tu dʒulu:s-an Hasan-an<sup>137</sup>  
sit:PRF-1S sitting -ACC good-ACC

'I sat a good way of sitting'

B-The **adjective** used to describe the verbal noun as in:

8. a. sir-tu aHsana as-sajr-i  
walk:PRF-1S best-ACC the-walking-GEN

'I walked perfectly'

which originates from:

- b. sir-tu s-sayr-a aHsanaas-sajr-i  
walk:PRF-1S the-walking-ACC best-ACCthe-walking-GEN

<sup>137</sup> The verb *dʒalasameans* that someone sits down after he/she was standing, whereas *qaʃada* means that someone sits down after he/she was lying down.

'I walked, the most perfect walking'

C-The **number** referring to the deleted verbal noun as in:

9. a. Darab-tu-hu                      ṣaṣr-a                      Darbat-in  
hit:PRF-1S-3SM                      ten-ACC                      hitting-GEN

'I hit him ten hittings'.

which is originally:

- b. Darab-tu-hu Darb-an                      ṣaṣr-a                      Darbat-in  
hit:prf-1s-3sm hitting-ACC                      ten-ACC                      hitting-GEN

'I hit him hitting, ten times'.

D-The **manner** of the verbal noun as in:

10. a. qaṣada                      l-qurḥuṣa?  
sit:PRF:3SM                      the-frog style

'He sat like a frog'

derived from:

- b. qaṣada                      quṣuda l-qurḥuṣaṣ  
sit: PRF:3SM                      sitting-ACC                      the-frog style

'He sat the sitting of a frog'

E-The tool used to convey the meaning of the deleted verbal noun:

11. a. Darab-tu-hu                      sawt-an  
hit:PRF-1S-3SM                      a whip-ACC

'I hit him a whip'

which is derived from

- b. Darab-tu-hu                      Darb-an                      bi-sawt-in  
hit:prf-1s-3sm                      hitting-ACC                      by-a whip-GEN

'I did hit him by a whip'

F-The words *kul* 'all' and *baṣḍ* 'some' which are added to the verbal noun:

12. a. Darab-tu-hu kull-a/ baṣḍ-a D-Darb-i  
hit:prf-1s-3sm all-ACC/ some-ACC                      the-hitting-GEN

'I hit him completely/ partially'

derived from

- b. Darab-tu-hu D-Darb-a                      kull-a-hu/ baṣḍ-a-hu  
hit:prf-1s-3sm the-hitting-ACC                      all-ACC-it/some-ACC-it

It is worth mentioning that when the CA is type or number identifying, the binder of that CA can be deleted optionally or obligatorily. An example of a CA deleted optionally is mentioned in (13b) where the verb was omitted from the answer because it was mentioned in the question.

13. a. kajfa                      sabaḥ-ta ?  
how                      swim:PRF-2SM

'How did you swim?'

- b. (sabaḥ-tu)                      sibaḥat-an                      dḥajjid-a-h  
(swim: PRF-1s)                      swimming-ACC                      good-ACC-F



'(I swam)good swimming'

On the other hand, the binder of the CA can be deleted obligatorily especially when the CA is so used that it becomes normal to use it without its binder. An example is:

14. a. Hamd-an li Allah  
       thanks-ACC to God  
       'thanks to Allah'

which is derived from:

b. aHamdu Allah-a Hamdan  
    thank:IMPF:1S God-ACC thanking -ACC  
    'I do thank Allah'

Because of their heavy use in daily life, the questionnaire in this study included some examples of CA whose binder is deleted obligatorily. Additionally, the translation of sentences that have some deleted material might give insights into the unconscious knowledge of the native speaker; does he/she see an implicit binder there or do they simply consider the DS (deep structure) the same as the SS (surface structure) in these cases?

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Subjects

22 students from the University of Jordan majoring in English language and its literature participated in this study: 19 female and 3 male students with a mean age of 22 years. All students have already taken a course in translation from English into Arabic on the sentence, paragraph and text level. In addition, all of them were enrolled in a translation course from Arabic into English at the time of participation. The students are all native speakers of Arabic. They received Arabic instruction in all subjects and they were taught Arabic grammar for 8 years at school. They also started learning English at school from grade one (i.e. they have been studying English as a foreign language for almost 15 years)

The subjects volunteered to take the survey and were not offered any kind of compensation for completing it.

#### 3.2 Data Collection

The data were elicited through a written task of 39 items representing 15 pairs that are identical in form; one with a CA and one without. The task also included 6 examples of the CA representatives. There were 3 items in the task that demonstrate some controversial syntactic structures that some Arab grammarians claimed to have implicit CAs and thus were

considered as representative of CAs. The objective of including such items in the study is to try to figure out if we can grasp some of the unconscious knowledge of the native speaker through their preferences for translations that reflect certain syntactic structures.

In order not to distract or confuse the subjects by external factors, the target sentences did not include any difficult vocabulary. The questionnaire was designed in a way that includes the following categories of the CA: 5 emphatic CA; 8 type-identifying CAs: 3 post-modified by adjectives, 3 in the form of a construct state, 2 modified by a definite article; and 2 number-identifying CAs. Moreover, 3 sentences exemplifying CA representatives have been included in the questionnaire together with 3 sentences showing CAs without an antecedent. Finally, there were 3 sentences containing examples of constituents whose syntactic functions were debatable. The study opted for including 5 examples of emphatic CAs because, unlike the other types of CAs which change the informational structure of the sentence, these do not have any change to the informational structure. On the other hand, only two examples of type-identifying CAs with a definite article were included because this is rare in the language and its interpretation may need some pragmatic clues.

The sentences were presented in a randomized order. However, the first 10 sentences did not include any emphatic CA in order to make sure that the subjects will translate the sentences without the CA normally. Then, when they encounter the ones with CAs, they decide whether they need to translate these sentences differently or keep them the same as the ones without CAs.

The subjects were given one hour to complete the task, and they were allowed to use dictionaries when needed since the focus is on translating the structure rather than the meaning.

### **3.3 The Study Questions**

The study seeks to answer the following questions:

- a. How is the CA translated into English? What strategies can be used to give the best translation for the CA?
- b. To what extent does translation help grasp the unconscious knowledge of the native speakers?
- c. Can translation help decide syntactic category of elements that can have more than one syntactic interpretation?

- d. How are certain structures translated into different languages that do not have the same structure?

#### 4. Results and Analysis

The results of the questionnaire generally show that the subjects were affected by two factors when they encountered the target sentences: first, CAs do not exist in English. Second, and most importantly, the CA is semantically redundant; its meaning is indicated by the meaning of its binder (the verb in our case). Here, the results of CAs, representative of CAs, and accusative gerunds with more than one reading will be attempted.

#### 4.1 Cognate Accusatives

##### 4.1.1 Emphatic Cognate Accusatives

The most common type of CAs is probably the emphatic one. At least, it is the one that comes to mind when mentioning the CAs. It is dubbed emphatic because it emphasizes the meaning of the event designated by the verb and it is morphologically derived from it. Let's, first of all, differentiate between this construction and the other emphatic construction that repeats the main verb:

15. a. taHaddaθ-a                      taHaddaθa                      Omar  
       talk:PRF:3SM-SUBJ      talk:PRF:3SM-SUBJ      Omar  
       'Omar talked talked'
- b. taHaddaθa                      Omar                      taHadduθ-an  
       talk:PRF:3SM-SUBJ      Omar                      talk:GER:ACC  
       'Omar talked talking'

Al-Samirra'e (2000, p.131) states that the verb may be repeated (15a) because you think that the addressee may not have heard the first word or may have misheard it. By contrast, the CA (15b) may be used to eliminate the disillusion that the agent has not performed the event, but has done something that is close to or associated with the actual event. Thus, when saying *rakaDa r-rajul* 'the man ran', one might think that the man hurried or speeded up, and the speaker metaphorically called it *rakaDa* 'ran'. Therefore, when coming up with the *CArakDan* 'running', the speaker removes any possibility of not performing the actual event of *running*.

The questionnaire included 5 sentences with emphatic CAs, and five counterparts without. For brevity reasons, only two examples with CAs will be mentioned here:

16. a. *faziθ-tu*                      min      hawl      l-manðar-i      **fazaθ-an**  
       terrify:PRF-1S      from      scary      the-scene-GEN      terrify:GER-ACC  
       'I was really terrified of what I saw'

b. *farib-tu* d-dawaʔ-a **furb-an** kay  
 ʔa-taʃa:fa  
 drink:PRF-1S the-medicie-ACC drink:GER-ACC to  
 IMPF:1S- heal

'I did swallow the medicine to heal'

Generally speaking, more than half of the translations included intensifier adverbs (e.g. very much, a lot, so, very, extremely, really, badly, strongly) either as pre-modifiers or post-modifiers. It was also noticed that at least a third of the translations for each sentence did not show any difference between the sentence with a CA and its counterpart without CAs, i.e. students considered the CAs as completely redundant. (17) below shows the number of identical translations of sentence with and without a CA and their percentages.

17.

Verb	Meaning	No. of identical translations (out of 20)	%
faziʃtu	I became terrified'	12	60%
hazintu	I became sad	8	40%
jartaʃiʃu	(he) shivers	7	35%
rama:	(he) threw	15	75%
faribtu	I drank	16	80%

The higher the percentage, the more redundant the students consider the CA. Looking carefully at these verbs and the percentages, it seems that students subconsciously divided the verbs into two categories: gradient verbs and categorial verbs. The former are the verbs that can be measured on a scale such as *becoming sad*; one might be relatively sad (say 50%) while another may be very sad (say 90%). By contrast, categorial verbs are seen as either/or; either they happened or not. Therefore, 'drank' either happened or not. Looked at differently, one might want to intensify the verb by using a CAs in a way that the (P)robability of the occurrence of an event denoted by the verb is P, whereas its probability with a CA is  $P \times P$  ( $P^2$ ). Nonetheless, there are events whose probability is either 1 or 0, and thus  $P^2$  remains the same. These are the categorial verbs. The sentences that had such verbs (e.g. *grama:* 'he threw' and *sharibtu* 'I drank') highly remained the same with and without CAs, while sentences with gradient verbs were mostly translated with an intensifier adverb as a surrogate for the CA. Remember that CAs are used in order to eliminate ambiguity; the speaker did perform the action.

It is also highly likely that the difference between *fariba* 'drank' and *rama* 'threw' on the one hand, and *faziʕtu* 'became terrified' *hazintu* 'became sad' and *jartaʕifu* 'shivers' on the other hand is related to *telicity*. The first two verbs are *telic* whereas the other three are *atelic*. This is supported by the time-span/time-frame test. According to this test, the verbs *fariba* 'drank' and *rama* 'threw' can be confined by '**in an hour**' while *faziʕtu* 'became terrified' *hazintu* 'became sad' and *jartaʕifu* 'shivers' can be modified by '**for an hour**':

18. a. *rama*: Omar-u l-kura-ta fi: θa:nija  
 throw:PRF:3SM Omar-NOM the-ball-ACC in a second  
 'Omar threw the ball in a second'
- \*b. *Rama*: Omar-u l-kura-ta li  
 daqi:qa  
 throw:PRF:3SM Omar-NOM the-ball-ACC for a minute  
 'Omar threw the ball for a minute'
19. \*a. *ʔirtaʕaʕa* Omar-u fi: sa:ʕa  
 shiver:PRF:3SM Omar-NOM in an hour  
 'Omar shivered in an hour'
- b. *ʔirtaʕaʕa* Omar-u li sa:ʕa  
 shiver:PRF:3SM Omar-NOM for an hour  
 'Omar shivered for an hour'

5. The second test for *telicity* is 'tending towards a goal'. According to this test, *telic* verbs express an action tending towards a goal. *Atelic* verbs, on the other hand, do not involve a goal or an endpoint in their semantic structure, but denote actions that are realized as soon as they begin. So, when somebody *throws* a ball it moves towards a certain goal. By contrast, *shivering* does not go towards a goal. It is realized as *shivering* from the very moment of taking place.

As for the CAs *furban* 'drinking' and *ramyan* 'throwing', the ones that were classified as categorial, there was one translation that used the emphatic *do* to express the CAs. This suggests that the student(s) understood the CA as emphatic, but since s/he subconsciously interpreted the events in these two sentences as non-gradient, s/he used the emphatic *do* rather than any intensifying adverb. In fact, only one translation (out of 20) used the intensifying adverb (a lot) with the CA *furban* 'drinking'. No student used any intensifying adverb for *ramyan* 'throwing'. (5) students used an adverb of manner (*very*) *hard, severely*.

Finally, it was mentioned earlier that the use of the CA confirms the occurrence of the event itself rather than any close or associative event. In fact, this is supported by some translations of (16b). The English verbs that are associated with *medicine* are mainly 'take' or 'swallow'. However, the Arabic equivalents are either *ʔaxaḍa* 'took' or *ʔariba* 'drank'. Interestingly, because of the presence of the CA, (4) students understood the event in (16b) as purely *drinking* of medicine and thus used the verb 'drank' *ʔariba*, while they interpreted the same event without a CA as 'took' *ʔaxaḍa*.

20. a. I drank the medicine to recover. (for 16b)

b. I took the medicine to recover. (16b without the cog. acc. *ʔurban*)

#### 4.1.2 Cognate Accusatives Post-modified by an Adjective:

CAs can be post-modified by an adjective (in *italics*):

21. a. ʔuHibb-u haḍa T-Tabaq-a **Hubb-an**  
*dʒamm-an*love:IPRF:1S-IND this the-dish-ACC  
 love:GER-ACC much-ACC  
 'I do love this dish very much'

b. ʔuHibb-u haḍa T-Tabaq-a  
 love:IPRF:1S-IND this the-dish-ACC  
 'I love this dish'

22. a. bakaj-tu **buka:ʔ-an** *ʔadi:d-an* ʕindama  
 ʕalim-tu  
 cry:PRF-1S crying-ACC severe-ACC when  
 know:PRF-1S

bi-xabar-i wafa:ti-h  
 with-news-GEN death-his  
 'I did cry severely when I learnt about his death'

b. bakaj-tu ʕindama ʕalim-tu bi-xabar-i wafa:ti-h  
 cry:PRF-1S when know:PRF-1S with-news-GEN death-his  
 'I cried when I learnt about his death'

23. a. ʕadʒib-tu min sahari-ka l-lajl-a  
 wonder:PRF-1S from staying up:GER-your the-night-ACC  
**sahar-an** *Tawi:l-an*  
 staying-up-ACC long-ACC

'I did wonder about your staying up too long'

b. ʕadʒib-tu min sahari-ka l-lajl-a  
 wonder:PRF-1S from staying up:GER-your the-night-ACC  
 'I wondered about your staying up'

Most students did not translate the CAs but sufficed with translating the post-modifying adjective. This, again, indicates that

the students subconsciously treated the CA as a redundant element. Their translations were as follows:

24. a. I love this dish **very much/a lot/ so much/ too much**  
 b. I cried **severely/ a lot/ very much/ hard/ heavily**.  
 c. I wondered about your staying awake/ at night **for a long time/ very long/ for so long time**.

There were 7 students who translated (23a&b) the same: *I was surprised at how you stayed up at night*'. This, in turn, may indicate that they thought of the CA and its post-modifying as redundant since *saharika l-lajlin* Arabic means 'staying up all night'. This is because *l-lajlis* modified by the definite article *l-*, which indicates that the noun is non-partitive; the whole night.

Looking carefully at the other translations, it is found that the students dispensed with the CAs and translated the adjective as an adverb. In other words, the NP (the CA and its modifying adjective) have been taken as modifying the verb. This is not surprising because adjectives and adverbs ultimately belong to the AP category. Since the semantics of the CA is subsumed under the verb, after deleting it, the post-modifying adjective will turn into an adverb that modifies the verb.

#### 4.1.3 CS Cognate Accusatives

The next category is the CA that has the structure of a Construct State (CS). The results of this type were interesting. In the questionnaire, the pairs of sentences were structured in a way that one includes a CA in the form of a CS and the other has an adverb of manner or a simile (**CS in bold**):

25. a. qaraʔ-tu                      **qira:ʔat-a**    **l-mutaʔammil-i**  
 read:PRF-1S                      reading-ACC    the-contemplative-GEN  
 'I read the way the contemplative reads'  
 b. qaraʔ-tu                      *bi-taʔammul-i*  
 read:PRF-1S                      with- contemplation-GEN  
 'I read thoughtfully'  
 26. a. taHaddaθ-tu **Hadi:θ-a**    **l-wa:θiq-i**                      min  
    nafs-i-h  
    speak:PRF-1S    speaking-ACC the-confident-GEN    from  
    self-GEN-his  
    'I spoke the way the self-confident person would speak'  
 b. taHaddaθ-tu                      *bi-θiqat-in*  
 speak:PRF-1S    with-confidence- GEN  
 'I spoke confidently'  
 27. a. ʔinTlaqa-t                      s-sajja:rat-u    **ʔinTilaq-a**    **s-sahm-i**

dart:PRF-3SF                      the-car-NOM    darting-ACC    the-  
arrow-GEN

'The car darted the way an arrow would dart'

b. ʔinTlaqa-t                      s-sajja:rat-u    ka-s-sahm-i  
dart:PRF-3SF                      the-car-NOM    like-the-arrow-GEN

'The car darted like an arrow'

All students translated (25b) - the one without a CA- as 'I read with meditation', whereas 19 of them translated the one with a CA as 'I read *like* a meditator'. Likewise, 20 students translated (26b) 'I spoke with confidence', while 20 translated (26a) 'I spoke *like* a confident person'. The pair in (27) is different since there is a simile particle *ka* 'like' in (27b). The result was that all students translated (27b) as 'The car went off *like/as* an arrow'. On the other hand, (17) students translated (27a) the same as (27b) -with the simile particle- in line with (25a&26a). The other five translations included an adverb of manner: '*The car went off fast/ quickly/ with speed*'.

It is worth mentioning here that there is a semantic difference between (25a, 26a &27a) and (25b, 26b &27b). Although most students translated the formers with a simile particle, the meaning is more intense. Due to the absence of a simile particle, these sentences indicate that the event in each was carried out exactly the same as the event indicated by the CS. In other words, we have a 100% match between, say, *my* speaking and the speaking of a *confident* person. By contrast, the use of the particle in the translations suggests that the events were performed to a lesser degree (say 70-90%) compared to the events indicated by the CS:

28. a. I spoke the way the self-confident person would speak'

b. I spoke like a self-confident person'

So, why did most students translate the CS sentences with a simile particle? The answer has two folds: first, they were ignorant of the subtle difference that was mentioned above. This is supported by the fact that 17 (out of 22) students translated (27a) the same as (27b). Second, as a principle of economy (Hornstein, Nunes&Grohmann, 2010), the translation with the simile particle *like/as*(28b) is more economical than the more precise one that repeats the verb and adds an auxiliary that hosts (T)ense (28a). Therefore, students unconsciously opt for the shorter translation.

#### 4.1.4 Cognate Accusatives with the Definite Article.

Now, let's discuss the CA that is introduced by the definite article. Definite NPs may be construed as referring expressions which, in turn, indicates that the definite CA is known to both of the



speaker and the addressee (29a). They may also have a generic meaning (29b).

29. a. sir-tu                                **s-sayr-a**  
       walk:PRF-1S                        the-walking-ACC  
       'I walked the walking (that we both know)'
- b. dʒalas-tu                        **l-dʒulu:s-a**  
       sit:PRF-1S                         the-sitting-ACC  
       'I sat(long) sitting'

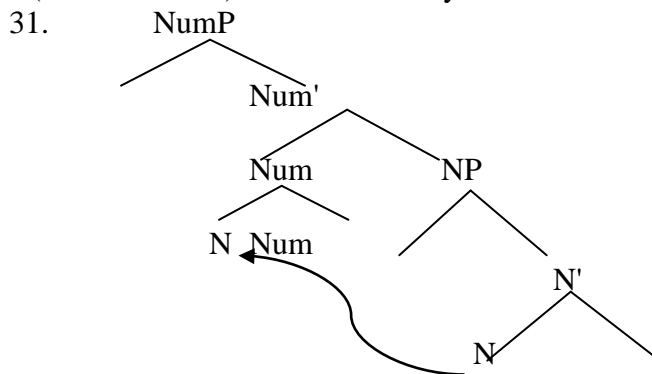
Ten students translated (29a) without any modification 'I walked', whereas 17 translated (29b) in the same way 'I sat'. The relatively big difference here could be referred to the *referring* and *generic* meanings of the definite CAs. Students felt more comfortable to translate (29b) without any modification because of its generic interpretation. On the other hand, because of its referring interpretation, less students translated (29a) without any modification. Three students understood both sentences as referring expressions and thus added 'as usual' in both cases '*I walked/sat as usual*'. One student translated both with a gerund '*I walked the walking/ I sat the sitting*' which is literally equivalent to a CA. Other translations involved adding a direct object or a prepositional phrase: '*I walked the road/ the way/ the path/ on foot*' and '*I sat on a seat*'. Other than the three translations that involved the addition of 'as usual', the students' responses suggest that the majority of the subjects understood the CAs as redundant. Some could not figure out the function of the definite CA and therefore added some PP expressions.

#### 4.1.5 Number-Identifying CA

Let's move on to the number-identifying CA. This also was not surprising since all students looked at the CA as redundant and thus translated the number of occurrences of the event represented by the verb. 'Two knocks', 'two readings' and 'two visits' were all translated as 'twice':

30. a. zur-tu                      dʒadd-i                      **ziya:rat-ajñ**  
       visit:PRF-1S      grandfather-my                      visit-DUAL:ACC  
       'I visited my grandfather twice'  
   b. Taraq-tu                      l-ba:b-a                      **Tarqat-ayñ**  
       knock:PRF-1S    the-door-ACC    knock-DUAL:ACC  
       'I knocked the door twice'  
   c. qaraʔ-tu                      l-qurʔa:n-a                      **qira:t-ayñ**  
       read:PRF-1S      the-Quran-ACC                      reading-DUAL:ACC  
       'I read the Quran twice'

Taking into account that NPs (noun phrases) may project NumP (Number phrase) that may carry phi-features (number, gender and person) (Radford, 2004), we assume that the head noun moves to NumP where it merges with Number and the whole phrase becomes a CS (construct state) that is headed by Number:



Since the head of the CS is Number, it comes as no surprise that the subjects translated the number and dispensed with the complement N. Two marks are in order here: first, numbers greater than two precede N. Therefore, Num comes to the left of N in (31) above. Nonetheless, the Num remains the head of the CS. Second, Num is the head only when it appears in a CA phrase since the lexical meaning of the CA is taken by the lexical meaning of the verb. However, when NumP appears in other positions, say subject or object, then the head is the noun and Num only carries other phi-features:

32. raʔay-tu      xamsa-t-a      ridʒa:l-in      ʕala      l-dʒabal  
 see:PRF-1S    five-F-ACC    man:pl-GEN    on      the-  
 mountain

'I saw five men on the mountain'

If asked about what one saw on the mountain, the answer would be 'men' rather than 'five'. This supports our premise that the head of the CS is the noun rather than the number.

## 4.2 Representative of Cognate Accusatives

### 4.2.1 Representative of Cognate Accusatives

As a law of economy, certain elements can replace the CA when the latter is understood from the context and hence redundant. These elements are called representatives of CA and thus carry the accusative case of the CA. In order to dispense with CA, representatives must have some association with them. The questionnaire incorporated 6 representatives of CA that are different

in type. These sentences did not come in pairs. In fact, students may have thought of them as fillers since they are unlikely to be recognized as representatives of CA due to the absence of the intended CAs. We will discuss each of these sentences separately.

#### 4.2.1.1 *Kull* 'All' and *BaʿD* 'Some'

'*Kull* 'all' and *baʿD* 'some' can be used as representatives of CA:

33. a. *yu-Hibb-u*                      *Muhammad-un*                      *walid-a-hu*  
IMPF:3SM-love-IND    *Muhammad-NOM*                      *father-ACC-his*

***kull-a***                      ***l-Hubb-i***  
*all-ACC*                      *the-love-GEN*

'Muhammed loves his father all love'

The sentence in (33a) is derived from (33b) which has a direct CA:

- b. *yu-Hibb-u*                      *Muhammad-un*                      *walid-a-hu*  
IMPF:3SM-love-IND    *Muhammad-NOM*                      *father-ACC-his*

***Hubb-an***                      ***kull-a-hu***  
*love-ACC*                      *all-ACC-its*

'Muhammed loves his father all love'

When reading such a sentence, the first hunch that comes to mind is the amount of love that Muhammad holds to his father. This is exactly the right intuition. However, 13 students translated it with an intensifying adverb:

34. a. Muhammad ***totally*** loves his dad ***very much/ so much/ a lot***

which is, in fact, a translation of (34b):

- b. *yuhibbu*                      *Muhammadun walidahu*                      ***kathi:ran***  
IMPF:3SM-love-IND    *Muhammad-NOM*                      *father-ACC-his*                      a  
*lot-ACC*

'Muhammad loves his father a lot'

Two students failed to see any difference between this sentence and the same sentence without the adjunct *kulla l-Hubb* 'all love'. In other words, they thought of that adjunct as semantically redundant perhaps due to the event of 'love' that is directed towards one's father; it is expected, at least culturally, that one gives all love to his/her father.

Interestingly, 7 students translated it with the universal quantifier 'all':

35. Muhammad loves his dad ***all the love***.

Note that the universal quantifier *kull* in (33a) carries the accusative case of the CA *Hubban* in (33b). On the other hand, *l-Hubbi* in (33a) carries the genitive case which is associated with the

second element in a CS. Based on its case, all Arab grammarians considered the universal quantifier *kullas* a representative of the direct CA. Obviously, the replacement of the direct CA structure plus the universal quantifier *Hubbankullah* in (33b) by a CS structure where *kull* 'all' precedes the CA, and thus represents it syntactically, has led a good number of students to translate (33a) as in (34).

So, what is the difference between translating (33a) as an intensifying adverb as in (34b) or as a universal quantifier plus a CA as in (35)? Why were the students confused between the two translations? According to Ibn Malik (1990), IbnAquil (1995), IbnHisham (1962), Al-Ashmoni(1955), and Al-Samirra'e (2000), *inter alia*, (33b) is a translation of a representative of a CA:

35. *yu-hibb-u*                      *Muhammad-un*                      *walid-a-hu*  
 IMPF:3SM-love-IND      *Muhammad-NOM*                      *father-ACC-his*  
**Hubb-an**                      *kathi:r-an*  
 love-ACC                      a lot-ACC  
 'Muhammad loves his father a lot'

With the deletion of the explicit CA, more than half of the students read *kathi:ran* 'a lot' as an intensifying adverb that post-modifies the verb *yuhibbu*. Again, it seems that the implicit CA is redundant. Semantically, the adverb *kathi:ran* indicates a high percentage of love, say 80-90%. By contrast, the representative of CA, the universal quantifier *kull*, indicates a 100%.

#### 4.2.1.2 Representatives of CAs Denoting Speaker-Oriented Adverbs

Speaker-oriented adverbs (SpOAs) appear at the leftmost side of the sentence. These SpOAs follow certain order as suggested by Cinque (1999), Ernst (2000, 2009), (e.g. evaluative, epistemic, negation). Ernst pinpoints that sentences like (36a&b) are better interpreted as (36a&b).

36. a. Luckily, Aaron did not fall off his bicycle.  
 b. Honestly, I don't know what you mean  
 37. a. It is lucky that Aaron did not fall off his bicycle.  
 b. I SAY Adv that P (Proposition).

Adopting Ernst's analysis, the representatives of CAs in (37-38) are interpreted as (36b):

38. **ʕadʕab-an**                      *li-ʔamr-i*                      *ha:ða*                      *r-radʕul-i*  
 wonder:GER-ACC                      for-matter                      this                      the-man-  
 GEN  
*huwa*      *da:ʔimu*                      *t-taHdi:q-i*                      *bi-l-ma:rra*  
 he                      always                      the-staring-GEN                      by-the-bypassers

'I wonder of this man; he always stares at the by-passers'

39. **samʕ-an** wa **Taʕat-an** ya:  
ʔabi  
listen:GER-ACC and obedience:GER-ACC VOC  
father

'I listen and obey you, dad'

The two examples are SpOAs since both of them can be interpreted as 'I SAY P'. In fact, Arab grammarians (Al-Farahidi, 1981;IbnHisham, 1988;Ibn Malik, 1990;and Sibawaih,1996) interpret them as representative of CAs since the verbs have been omitted and their semantics have been retained in the CAs:

40. a. ʔa-taʕadʒab-u ʕadʒab-an .....  
IMPF:1S-wonder-IND wonder:GER-ACC

.....

'I wonder wondering ....'

b. ʔasmaʕ-u samʕ-an wa ʔuTiʕ-u  
IMPF:1S-listen-IND listen:GER-ACC and IMPF:1S-  
listen-IND

**Taʕat-an**  
obedience:GER-ACC

I listen listening and obey obedience....'

In the questionnaire, sentence (38) was translated as follows:

41. a. exclamation construction: 'How strange/ weird/ surprising/  
wonderful this man is'

((15) Ss).

b. No translation

((1) Ss)

c. declarative statement: 'The man is very strange'

((2) Ss)

d. using 'wonder' as a verb: 'I wonder about this man'

((4) Ss).

Students tried to get the meaning of the representative of the CA in (19) translations. In (41a&d), though, they couldn't extract the event without tense. In (41d); 'wonder' represents a sensory event accompanied by (present) tense that requires two arguments: external NP (I) and an internal PP (about this man). However, Arabic verbal noun *ʕadʒaban* 'wondering' indicates an event without a tense, and therefore does not require any arguments.

Perhaps (41a) was more fortunate since the exclamation construction (how strange/ weird ...) per se does not denote any

tense. The tense in the sentence comes from the stative verb 'is' which is mandatory when no other verb is expressed in the sentence.

The other representative of CA in (39) was translated as follows:

42. a. literal trans with V I hear and obey, father  
((6) Ss)
- b. literal trans with N at your command, father  
((3) Ss)
- literal trans with N all my obedience for you, dad((2) Ss)
- literaltrans with N out of obedience, father  
((1) Ss)
- c. No Translation  
((2) Ss)
- d. meaning trans. I will do all you want dad  
((3) Ss)
- meaning trans. as you want dad ((2) Ss)
- meaning simplistic trans. yes father  
((1) Ss)
- meaning simplistic trans. alright father ((1) Ss)
- meaning simplistic trans. ok dad ((1) Ss)

As seen in (42), (8) students went with the meaning translation as they thought of *samʕanwaTaʕatan* 'listening and obedience' as very Arabic expression that need not be translated literally. (6) students translated both words literally but with a verb, thus could not extract the event from the event plus tense combination. Another (6) students translated it almost literally but with a noun. In fact, it is these last (6) students who were the closest to the Arabic equivalent which denotes an event devoid of tense. Perhaps, (39) was harder than (38) due to language specific reasons.

#### 4.2.1.3 Sentences that had a unanimous translation

There was unanimity on the following three sentences of CA representatives (43a, 44, 45a):

43. a. **radʒa:ʔ-an** la: ta-duq l-ba:b  
begging:GER-ACC NEG IMPF:2SM-knock the-door  
'Please, don't knock the door'.
- b. **ʔa-rdʒu:-ka** **radʒa:ʔ-an** la: ta-duq  
l-ba:b  
IMPF:1S-beg-2SM begging-ACC NEG IMPF:2SM-knock  
the-door  
'I beg you begging, don't knock the door'.

44. qaṣad-tu                      **dʒulu:s-an**                      Tawi:l-an<sup>138</sup>  
       sit:PRF-1S                      sitting:GER-ACC                      long-ACC  
       'I sat sitting for a long time'
45. a. Darab-a                      r-radʒul-u                      ibn-a-hu                      **ṣaSa-an**  
       hit:PRF-SUBJ                      the-man-NOM                      son-ACC-his                      stick-ACC  
       kay                      ya-rtadiṣ  
       to                      IMPF:3SM-stop
- b. Darab-a                      r-radʒul-u                      ibn-a-hu                      Darb-an  
       hit:PRF-SUBJ                      the-man-NOM                      son-ACC-his                      hitting:GER-ACC  
       **bi-ṣaST-in**                      kay                      ya-rtadiṣ  
       with-stick-GEN                      to                      IMPF:3SM-stop  
       'The man hit his son with a stick in order to stop  
       wrongdoing'

The gerund *radʒa:ʔ-an* 'begging' in (43a) is a representative of CA because in the DS (Deep Structure)(43b), there is a verb that is morphologically similar to the gerund. All students translated the representative of CA in (43a) as 'please'. Nonetheless, there is a big difference between the English adverb *please* and the Arabic gerund *radʒa:ʔ-an*. Al-Sa:mirr:ʔi (2000, p.144-145) mentions a subtle difference between the imperative verb and the gerund as representative of the verb: the gerund is stronger and more permanent than the verb since the gerund indicates a mere event whereas the verb denotes an event plus tense. When ordering someone using a gerund (e.g. *Sabran* 'patience '), the focusing is on the event of *patience* itself which is more stable than the verb (*ʔiSbir* 'be patient') which is a renewable event associated with a certain tense. Moreover, the verb can appear in present, past or imperative, but the gerund denotes concentrating on the event regardless of its tense. Furthermore, verbs need to have subjects. However, the aim of giving an order might be the accomplishment of the event regardless of the subject which might distract us.

It is worth mentioning here that English sometimes mentions the noun to denote the imperative as in '*silence*'. Although English does not have CAs, the noun used in such cases does have the same semantic effect as the representatives of CA; it denotes the event detached from any tense which, in turn, is stronger than using an imperative or other tense.

Thus, although the ready-to-use adverb *please* could suffice for translation, the abundance of meanings designated by the gerund *radʒa:ʔ-an* have been lost in translation.

<sup>138</sup> For the difference between *qaṣada* and *dʒalasa* see footnote 3.





and *ʔamfi* '(I) walk' respectively<sup>139</sup>. However, none of the translations supported this assumption. In fact, the translations indicated that the students understood these accusatives as adverbs of manner; most students translated the first one as 'willingly' or 'out of desire'. Some translated it as a clause of reason 'because he wanted that'. As for (46b) all translations were either present participle 'running' or adverb of manner 'quickly'; both modify the event of *coming*. Regarding this sentence, Sybawaih (1996) says that *rakDan* is a circumstantial accusative, while Alzubair (1994) believes it to be aCA whose verb is deleted. The last one was translated as either an adverb of time 'for a long time', 'too long', or a prepositional phrase 'for a long distance'. Some Arab grammarians believe that *Tawi:lan* could be a time adverbial representative, others believe that it is circumstantial accusative, and a third group consider it a representative ofCA.

The fact that the subjects failed to read any of these sentences as a (representative of) CA indicates that it might be lacking in their unconscious knowledge.

## 5. Conclusion

This paper addressed CAs from a semantic-syntactic point of view. Since this structure is absent in English and since its meaning is subsumed under the verb (or the binder), it is very likely to be lost in translation. Subjects seem to consider CAs as redundant. In best cases, the subjects considered CAs as intensifiers, and thus translated them as intensifier adverbs. They also subconsciously divided verbs into categorial and gradient ones: the categorial ones cannot be intensified since they either occur or not, whereas the gradient ones are more susceptible to be translated with an intensifier adverb when the Arabic sentence included a CA. Additionally, representatives of CAs gave insight into the unconscious knowledge of the native speaker: representatives of CAs were seen as post-modifiers of the verb and no implicit CA was retrieved. Finally, Arabic, as well as English, has constructions that express eventuality without tense; eventuality that replaces the verb with its arguments. Such eventuality is expressed in Arabic by a verbal noun. It was found that the use of a verbal noun (without tense) is probably stronger than using an imperative because, as Arab grammarians have long mentioned, the use of verbal nouns focuses on the accomplishment of the event regardless of the subject.

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<sup>139</sup> Some grammarians believe that (41a) could be *maʔfullahu* 'purposeful object'.

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